1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The first feelings which a death arouses in the relatives of the defunct are therefore those of anger and despair. The women--especially the widow or widows, if the deceased was the family-father--start wailing and crying, shouting loudly and tearing their hair, whereas the men shake their fists and pronounce curses on the evildoer, such-and-such enemy sorcerer being mentioned as the probable author of the death. These imprecations and violent outbursts of sorrow last for a long while and, of course, assume to a certain extent different forms according to the sex, age, and position of the deceased. Similarly, the mode of burial varies according as it is, for instance, a child, a woman, or the family-father who has died.

Wailing in the proper sense of the word is the duty on the women, i.e. the nearest female relatives of the dead person. If the family-father dies, it is of course the duty of his widow or widows to wail, and this wailing, at least in part, has a ceremonial character. Nevertheless the pathetic way in which the Indian widow laments over her deceased husband, speaking to him and giving him all sorts of pet names, praising his good qualities, reminding him of episodes in their life together, and deploring her own forlornness, makes a powerful impression upon a listening stranger. These mournful monologues of the Indian widows [457] in fact form part of the lyric poetry of the Indians and they are always sung, and accompanied with crying. Their contents seem to be in the main always the same. The following is a typical instance of these

mourning monologues.

The corpse is stretched out on a bench in the middle of the house and the widow moves about it the whole night, incessantly addressing her deceased husband in much the following words:

'O my dear husband, why have you left me alone, why have you abandoned me? How happily we have passed the years together in harmony, until cruel fate and the tunchi of the treacherous enemy separated us! You will never again wake me in the morning with your speech, when you were cooking your tobacco water and guayusa at the fire! I shall never any more hand you the pininga with manioc-beer and bring you your meal. Never any more will you send me out to the fields in the morning to fetch manioc and sweet potatoes, or remind me to take care of the swine and the fowls and the hunting dogs! And when friends came to visit us, who was it that always used to call me to welcome them with nice, fresh nihamánchi? Who will hereafter fell the trees for me and clear the ground to make the manioc and banana plantations, or help me with cleaning and tending the fields? Who will hereafter make a red-striped tarachi for me for the feasts, who will bring me game from the forest or the gaily-coloured birds which you used to shoot with your blowgun and your poisoned arrows? All this you did for me, but now you lie there mute and lifeless. Your mouth has ceased speaking, your arm is paralyzed for ever. O, dear me, what will become of me?'

Amidst all these bitter remembrances another sentiment suddenly comes to her. She recollects who is really responsible for this bad luck, since from the beginning it has been clear that the sickness and death was not due to any immutable laws of nature but to the secret art of some wicked sorcerer. She will then continue in somewhat the following way:

'And there he sits in peace, the cursed wizard who took the life of my husband with his treacherous arrow, and rejoices over his deed, whereas I, whom he made a widow, am here in an agony of sorrow! Woe to you my sons, if you do not punish the blood-guilt and take revenge upon the evildoer! Why have I brought you forth, why have I tended you and educated you, if you forget your most sacred duty to your father and allow the criminal to escape his righteous punishment?'

This wailing takes place more especially immediately after the death and at the funeral, but it is occasionally repeated for a long time after-[458] wards when, in one way or another, the woman is reminded of the defunct. Early the following morning the corpse is buried. The mode of burying, as I said, may vary. The Jibaros practise all modes of burial except cremation, but earth-burial and platform burial are those most common. A family-father, before he dies, frequently gives his own people instructions as to how he wishes to be buried, and these are carefully respected since the spirits of the dead are generally feared and may reappear as revengeful ghosts if their

orders and the attention due to them are neglected. The remains of the dead family-father are therefore treated differently from those of others, but one main principle is that as a family-father and the owner of the house he shall remain there after death, which entails the house being afterwards abandoned by the family. One custom, commonly practised, is that the dead Indian is placed in a sitting posture upon a kutánga, a small bench used by the Jibaros, and tied to one of the central pillars of the house, leaning his head upon his hands. He is not, however, left in this way above the earth, but under it, a pit being dug in the ground close to the pillar sufficiently large to take the corpse in this sitting position. Thereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled, so that the food and manioc-beer, the lance, a basket, and some other things which the deceased is supposed to need in the other world can be placed there. The food is renewed every day for one week; after that no further attention is paid to him, but the house must be abandoned."

1: Karsten--459-460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"Still more common among the Jibaros is platform burial. In this case the corpse is generally placed in a sort of coffin consisting of a hollowed trunk, which is then closed by means of pieces of bark and vines. The coffin is then placed upon a frame on high poles in the middle of the house. Naturally the house is abandoned as in the first case. When one of the other members of the family dies, for instance a wife or a son or daughter, his or her body is disposed of in the same way: it is placed in a hollow tree trunk, and this new 'coffin' is placed beside of the first one on the same frame. Thus real 'family graves' arise among the Jibaros, which of course only exist for a limited time, since both the house and the coffins are liable to rot away in a few years. When this has happened, the surviving relatives simply bury the remains in the ground, without any particular ceremonies.

I have also heard of other modes of disposing of a dead family-father. Thus at Rio Zamora, I was told, a dead Jibaro man had been simply wrapped in a bast mat and tied to the door post of his house in [460] a standing posture, with his face turned towards the interior of the house as if had been entering the same. Such a primitive and repugnant way of treating a corpse, however, I think is rare."

1; Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The fear of the death taboo has given rise among the Indians to certain other precautions, some of which are of a very peculiar nature. First, the female relatives of the defunct, and especially the widow or widows, have to cut their hair short immediately after the death takes place, and they likewise abstain from wearing ornaments. A widow is not allowed to remarry until her hair has again grown long, or in about one year. Further, she is purified by the smoke from a termite nest set on fire, in the way related before (p. 212). Other members of the family too have to pass through a certain purification ceremony, mainly consisting of tobacco water or strong Indian pepper being squirted into their eyes. Among the Jibaros living at Yaupi, a small tributary stream of the upper Morona, this purification is connected with a curious game of blindman's-bluff and is performed in the following way. The corpse is buried on the second day after death. On the same day the surviving relatives must abandon the house, a rule always observed among the Jibaros when the family-father dies. Everything is packed into bags and all is ready for the departure. Before the Indians leave the house, the following ceremony takes place. An old woman has made ready in a small gourd a mixture of Indian pepper (hīmya) and water, and the surviving members of the family will be 'prepared' with this medicine. All of them arrange themselves in a circle in the middle of the house, and the old woman hangs round their necks a peculiar collar consisting of a cotton string to which a small chonta thorn is tied. This

detail of the ceremony is called yupingrama and is known to all Jibaro tribes. Thereupon the old woman goes round and injects a little pepper-water [462]into the eyes of each member of the family, even those of the children. The strong liquid makes the people temporarily quite blind, and they are unable to open their eyes. The old woman now goes away and hides in a corner of the house, or behind one of the chonta posts supporting the house. The rest of the party start to look for her, feeling round with their hands. If someone hits upon the woman, the latter explains to him: 'You would probably have been the first to die of the same disease'. Again, if after a long search no one finds the old woman, she declares : 'It is all right, nobody else of the family will die of this disease. Now let us go, that the Disease (iguanchi, the demon) may not catch us.' They arrange themselves in a row, take their bags on their shoulders and move away from the house. The old woman goes last of all, strewing ashes on the footmarks of the departing Indians.

As to the ceremony called Yupingrama,(1) when a small chonta thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, its meaning is clearly indicated by the Indians themselves. The family-father has died in consequence of a chonta thorn sent by a hostile Indian

"1. Yupingrama literally means: 'to make oneself knowing', 'to take precautions.'"

sorcerer; consequently, when such a thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, it acts as an amulet which will protect them against a magic arrow of the same kind. Similarly, of course, the game of blindman's-buff is prophylactic in character, like some other games of this kind which will presently be mentioned.

Apart from this last detail, the Jibaros always consider it necessary to perform a purificatory ceremony with the survivors after a death, especially that of the family-father. When the coffin has been placed on the frame, the death-demon (iguanchi) is believed to take his seat on the top of it in the shape of a bird, ready to fall upon any person who comes in contact with the bodies placed there; this is the explanation given by the Indians themselves. This demon is the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient, but he seems also to be identified, in a mysterious way, with the disembodied soul of the dead family-father, who is supposed to be jealous of his surviving relatives. Among the Jibaros of the Upano and upper Pastaza no game of blindman's-buff takes place, but before the family leaves the house each of its members has to be treated in the way described above, a solution of Indian pepper or strong tobacco juice being squirted into his or her eyes by the oldest man or woman in the family. At the same time the particular ceremony is performed which [463] I have just described under the name of Yupingrama. The old man or woman, having hung the cotton string with the chonta thorn round the neck of a person, slightly fans his face with the magical bundle

of leaves which the Jibaros call shingi-shingu, to conjure away all evil influences. Thereupon all of them, in an ordered row, leave the house for ever.

Among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza again, it is customary that the mourners, after the dead person has been buried, slightly prick themselves over the whole body, on the arms, the legs, the shoulders, the breast, and the stomach with a pointed arrow of the kind the Jibaros use for their blowguns. This is believed to protect them against the soul of the deceased. In a dream the nearest relatives may meet the disembodied soul who says to them: 'Come, let us dance together.' Then the spirit of the person so addressed will answer: 'No, I cannot, for I have my body full of sores.' If he has not pricked himself in the way mentioned, he will obey the exhortation of the dead relative's spirit to dance with him, and in consequence he will soon die. The Achuares therefore say that they prick themselves in the way described 'in order not to die'.

As I have said, wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the

matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts. [sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

1: Karsten--466 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The customs observed by the Canelos Indians after a death in some respects considerably differ from those of the Jibaros proper, and are in part of very great interest. As we have seen, they share the belief of their savage kinsmen as to the causes of death, although the practical consequences of this belief are not drawn. Being Christians by name they now practise only one way of disposing the remains of the dead, namely earth burial, but formerly platform burial also was common. Among some of the Canelos Indians, for instance those living at Sarayacu, who are great canoeists, the coffin simply consists of a bipartite canoe in which the body is placed and buried. 'In his lifetime', the Indians explained, 'the deceased had frequently travelled in canoe, therefore he ought also to make his last journey in a canoe.' Still the Canelos Indians, as far as they are not influenced by the Christian ideas of a heaven or a hell, have not developed any theory about the final resting-place of the departed."

l: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"What makes the funeral customs of the Canelos Indians particularly interesting are the ceremonial games which take place the first night after death, during the vigil. Among these Indians custom prescribes that during the first night after the death of the head of the family or the housewife the surviving relatives must hold vigil, thereby entertaining themselves, among other things with a dice game. The object of the game is partly to distribute the property of the dead among the survivors, since otherwise it is taboo and cannot be touched by anybody, partly to protect them against the contagion of death, that is, the disease-and death-demon. This game derives its origin from the mountain culture in Ecuador and Peru, where it is still played in a somewhat different form by the Quichua-speaking Indians.

The game is at Canelos called Huairitu--a diminutive form of the Huayru of the mountain Indians--and the die consists of a piece of manioc, about 10 to 12 cm. in length, with four sides, each side about 3 or 4 cm. broad, both ends [468] flat, so that the die can stay upright. If the game is played in honour of a dead woman, the die is somewhat smaller than if the deceased was a man. Of the four sides one is provided with three small holes; this is called singu, after which the whole die takes its name. The opposite side is quite empty and is therefore called llambui ( nil, zero). Of the two remaining sides one generally bears four holes (chuscu in Quichua) and the other 10 (chunca).

Among the Indians of Sarayacu, one of the four sides is hollowed out, so that the whole piece is like a small canoe, both ends of which are flat. The opposite side, which forms the bottom of the canoe, is empty (llambui); of the two other sides one has 3 small holes (singu), the other again 10 (chunca).

Apart from this, the huairitu game is played in the same way at Canelos and Sarayacu. The following is the manner in which the game is played at Sarayacu with the canoe-formed die.

If the die, when it is thrown, remains upright, the player has won the stake and he has, besides, the right or obligation to 'punish' his opponent. If, on the other hand, the empty side, which represents the bottom of the canoe, remains upward (llambui), the player has lost his cast. If the open side of the canoe remains upward, this is also reckoned as nil, but it is not indicated by a special name. If either of the sides which are provided with 3 or 10 holes remains upward, the player receives 3 or 10 maize grains accordingly, and these he at once puts aside.

When the family-father or -mother dies, it is the obligation of the surviving relatives to spend the first night in watching 'in order to accompany the soul (aya) on its last wandering'. During the first night the soul stays in the house, in the vicinity of the dead body, but afterwards goes to the heavens, to the mountains or the forests. Since the deceased has in his life often travelled by canoe, he starts his last journey in a

canoe. This is the reason why the Sarayacu Indians give the die this form.

Among these Indians, just as among the Quichas of the Sierra, men alone take part in the game, never women and children. Likewise, only the invited guests play, never the nearest relatives of the deceased. If someone of the latter plays huairitu, the deceased will drag him along with him to the other world, that is to say, he will soon die. Similarly, among the Canelos Indians it is regarded as a great offence against the departed parent should anyone fall asleep that night. The departed soul itself does not leave such an Indian in peace, but draws him by the feet[469]so that he may not sleep. If he really falls asleep, his sleep will be very restless. In the morning when he wakes he will feel tired and sick and shortly afterwards he will die.

As soon as the patient has expired, guests are invited from all houses in the neighbourhood in order that they may take part in the vigil and play huairitu. The guests arrive after sunset and are, as is the custom among these Indians, generously entertained with manioc-beer (asua). The dead man is dressed in his best clothes and placed on a bier at one of the walls of the house. All around food of every kind, manioc, plantain, fowl, eggs, chicha, and so forth, is laid in various gourds, all these dishes being intended for the defunct. The playing men are arranged in two rows, opposite each other, so that every player has an opponent. The player who succeeds in throwing the die upright wins a hen, a head of plantain, manioc, chicha, or some other thing. What

is won is at once taken out from the remainder and kept for the winner until the morning. If someone throws singu, he receives as already mentioned, three maize grains, which are likewise kept till the morning, one who throws chunca receives ten, and so on.

The player who wins the stake is, moreover, entitled to punish his opponent, which he generally does by striking him on the back of the hand with his own hand, or giving him a fillip on the forehead.

Early in the morning the hens, won by the players in the course of the night's gambling, are slaughtered, boiled and eaten by all communally with manioc and plantain. Every player likewise counts the grains he has won, keeping a special account of how many times he has thrown singu and how many times chunca. These grains generally have no practical importance; they only indicate the relative favour bestowed upon him by the deceased.

To the Indian mind, the huairitu game is not a mere game of hazard. The departed soul is believed to hover about the dead body the whole night, itself personally interferring in it. The player only throws the die on the ground; it is the unseen hand of the deceased which turns it in this way or that, according as he wishes to favour the player or not.

Just as those, who win nothing, but repeatedly throw llambui, are regarded as more

or less antipathetic to the deceased and are therefore punished, so, on the contrary, the one who wins most is regarded as his particular friend and favourite. He is in consequence particularly honoured by the relatives and in the morning leaves the house of death richly endowed with presents of manioc, plantain, eggs, chicha, etc. [470]

It is a bounden duty of the survivors to honour the deceased with an huairitu game. If there is no wake and the game is not played, the deceased will feel offended and it may happen that he takes revenge on his relatives by sending disease and death, failure of the crops and famine, or some other misfortune. On the other hand, he will reward those relatives who pay him due honour. Their domestic animals will increase in number and their fields will flourish; in their house food will never be lacking, there will be plenty of manioc, plantain, game etc. He will moreover arrange that those, who now render him this service of love, will themselves, when they die, have people to honour them in the same way."

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians know yet another dice game that is played after a death, but this has now fallen almost into desuetude. It is called singu or huairitu like the game just described, but the die used is of another kind. This die, which may perhaps more properly be called a playing-board, consists of an almost circular wooden disk, about 15 cm. in length and 2 to 3 cm. in breadth. The obverse is somewhat convex, so that the disk can easily be put in motion by turning it round. On the right side of the disk a small human figure is incised or annealed. This figure represents the soul of the deceased (aya) and is called huahua huairitu, 'the huairitu-babe'. On both sides of this figure three small holes are applied and furthermore one hole between its legs, in a fashion which appears more clearly from the drawing. (Fig. 13). Thus there are in all 7 holes on the disk.

The corpse is placed on a bier in the middle of the house. Upon its paunch a board or some similar flat and even object is laid and upon the latter a cloth is stretched tightly. Upon this board the singu-die is placed.

The players arrange themselves on both sides of the bier. As usual, all of them are guests invited to the feast, and all are men. Each player had brought with him a small gourd containing charcoal and some water, when he arrived at the house. [471] With this colouring matter the guests paint certain black ornamental markings on the face before they begin the game.

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Round the bier and in front of each player the widow of the deceased has placed an equal number of gourds containing different kinds of food which belonged to the dead Indian when alive: manioc, plantain, earth-nuts, eggs, chicha, as well as living hens tied by the feet. The food and the hens are staked at the game. Everything is really intended for the deceased, but since a soul needs only a little food, the deceased distributes most of it among the players, according as they possess his affections.

Each of the players has an opponent who is seated opposite him on the other side of the bier. If a player is victorious in the game, it is his opponent's share in the food that he wins. If he looses, he looses his own share to his opponent, who besides is entitled to punish him.

In the game five grains are used which are thrown on the singu-board. The players throw the grains by turns: at first A of the one row, then his opponent A´of the other row; thereupon B of the first row, and B´of the other row, and so forth.

Of the five grains one is at once placed in the hole which is situated between the legs of the small figure. This grain indicates the departed Indian's own share in the dishes put out, and it should not therefore be touched or removed by the players. The four remaining grains are taken by the player whose turn it is to throw them, and he takes his stand at the head of the corpse. The board is usually placed so that the small figure is orientated in the same direction as the corpse, its head being turned towards the

corpse's head. The player now throws all of the four grains at once upon the board, the intention being that they should enter into some of the six empty holes. We may assume that one grain enters into one of the holes, whereas the others fall outside. In that case the player is entitled to repeat the throw with these three grains, and, if he prefers, may throw them from the foot-end of the corpse. We may assume that one more of the grains enters into a hole. Now the player seizes the board with outstretched fingers, in the manner shown in the drawing (fig. 14), and turns it cautiously round. This should be done so that the three grains which lie in the holes, that is, the one which had previously been laid between the legs of the figure and those now thrown in, do not fall out. The manoeuvre of turning the board is now repeated once more. The idea is to have it confirmed that the result of the cast was not accidental, but that the deceased is really willing to give up thus [472] much of his share to the player as is indicated by the cast. In other words, an opportunity is given him to confirm the result of the cast, and possibly to alter it. If two grains have fallen each into its hole, this means that the player has won 4--2, that is, a half of the quantity of food which his opponent has in front of him. If the latter has, for instance, two hens and four eggs, the winner receives one hen and two eggs; he also receives half of his quantity of chicha, and so forth.

If, after the two casts, only one grain has entered into a hole, the player is entitled

only to a fourth of the quantity of food possessed by his opponent. Again, if all four grains have entered into holes and, by the controlling test, managed by turning the board round, none falls out, then the player has won his opponent's whole share, which is at once given over to him. At the same time, the latter is thereby out of the game, since he has nothing more to play with, and the winner has the further right to punish him by giving him a fillip on the forehead.

If, on the other hand, after two repeated casts no grain has entered into a hole, the player has lost his whole share in the food supply to his opponent, is punished by him, and passes out from the game.

If with his two casts a player has won nothing, this is called llambui (nothing, zero). If every grain enters into a hole, all the players call out: llámbui gánan, 'he has won everything!'. The game is continued until there is only one of the players left.

As I have mentioned, the players never intentionally touch that grain which has been placed between the legs of the figure, because it indicates the departed Indian's own share in the foods put out. It some-[473] times happens, however, that a player, when he throws the grains upon the board, accidentally hits the grain lying between the legs of the figure, so that it falls out from the hole. This is looked upon as very unfortunate, since in consequence of the awkward cast the deceased looses his share. The

widow and the other relatives, who do not take part in the game but follow it with keen interest, then begin to weep and wail, exclaiming: 'He has taken his share!' It may also happen that at the controlling test, carried out by turning the board round, a player out of carelessness or mere wickedness turns it round so quickly, that not only his own grains, but also that of the deceased fall out of their holes.

I was also told that no one is allowed to fall asleep during the whole night. If someone seems inclined to do so, burning cotton is put close to his eyes to keep him awake.

The whole game is a tribute of honour paid to the departed parent. The latter is supposed to feel flattered by it and will reward his loving relatives for it. He himself takes part in the game, giving good luck to one, bad luck to another. His soul is present in the small board, and when the latter is turned round, at the test, the Indians imagine that thereby the soul is swinging round. When the grains are thrown over the corpse, this is believed to hasten the decay of the body, whereupon the soul, released from its material bonds, will set out upon its wanderings to heaven.

If, as the result of a cast, two of the grains happen to fall into holes situated opposite each other on both sides of the small figure, they form, together with the grain placed between the legs of the figure, a cross. This cast is regarded as a good omen: the soul of the defunct will now soon enter heaven.

Each player may in the morning take the food he has won during the night to his home

and eat it alone. Or, if the winners prefer it thus, a common meal is prepared out of the whole quantity of food early in the morning, in which all, both guests and hosts, winners and non-winners, take part."

"The huairitu game, both the last-mentioned and the one previously described, is not generally played the whole night, because the food put out is distributed as a rule before the morning. The rest of the night is spent in playing another kind of game, with burning balls of cotton. Upon the board which was placed on the stomach of the dead Indian a small cotton ball is laid and set on fire. The playing men arrange [474] themselves on both sides of the corpse and blow the burning cotton hither and thither upon the board, keeping the small ball in constant motion. Each player who finds the ball in front of himself immediately blows it to the other side, from where another player blows it in another direction, and so forth. The aim of this game is to nullify all danger of contagion proceeding from the dead body, since it is feared that the disease-demon may carry off other persons among the relatives surviving.(1)

All the Indians have expressly declared to me that the game is by no means played merely for the sake of pleasure or as a pastime, but that it is an absolute duty towards

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"1. It is worth mentioning that a similar ceremonial game also occurs among the Shimigay Indians of the middle Pastaza. The game is here called singu, but the die is conical in shape (se Karsten, Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians, p. 26)."

the deceased. Apart from the details of the game, this moreover appears from the fact, that an omittance to perform this duty--that is, to wake and to play the dice game --is supposed to entail very grave consequences. The Canelos Indians did not even like to show how the huairitu game was played, but only explained it verbally. If the die is cast without necessity, my informant said, someone in the house might die."

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"Those of the Canelos Indians who are related to the Indians of the Napo practise certain other kinds of game which are played at vigils. These games, however, are not dice games, but entertainments of another kind. Although these games are more in vogue among the Napo Indians than among the Indians of Canelos, I shall relate them here.

Four games of this kind came under my observation.

1. The game of blindman's-buff. One of the Indians is blindfolded and represents the dead person. His task is to catch some one of the rest of the party. These run around him, touch him with their hands and play all sorts of trick on him, in order to attract his attention, trying at the same time to avoid him. If the player blindfolded succeeds in catching one of the other men, this one must in his turn take the part of the blindman until he has caught someone else, and so forth, as long as the Indians like to play the game.

2. Playing with burning cotton. The playing men sit down on the ground in a circle round a big cloth or mantle, which is held by all so that it is tightly stretched and somewhat raised above the level of the [475] ground. One or two small cotton balls are set on fire and thrown on the cloth; the burning ball is then blown hither and thither on the cloth by the men holding it. The Indian who finds the burning ball in front of him blows it quickly towards another Indian sitting opposite him, the latter in his turn tries to rid

himself of it by blowing it away, and so forth. By keeping the ball in constant motion it is possible to continue the game with the burning cotton for several seconds, without the cloth being burnt. One ball having been consumed by fire, another is kindled and thrown on the cloth, or perhaps two at once, the game being continued until the players get tired of it. --As it will have appeared, the game is about the same as the one already described as taking place in connection with the dice games.

3. The game with the concealed pin. The body of the dead Indian, dressed in his finest clothes, lies on the bier at one side of the room. The game itself consists in a pin or needle being concealed somewhere in the clothes of the defunct, sometimes even in his body, for instance in his feet. One of the playing Indians kneels down in front of the bier on which the corpse is placed and another, standing behind him, holds his hands to the searcher's eyes so that he cannot see. It is now the task of the Indian to find the pin concealed, feeling with his hands all over the clothes of the defunct. As soon as he has found the pin, he must alone empty a gourd of brandy. Thereupon he in his turn conceals the pin in the dress of the defunct, allowing another Indian, who has to kneel down in the same way in front of the corpse, to look for it. As soon as this one has found the pin, he drinks brandy in the same way and conceals the pin for somebody else.

4. Sirasu catuaini huasháma is the name given by the Napo Indians to a fourth game

which, as we shall find, is played in much the same way in Europe. The playing men are arranged in a row, one behind the other. An Indian, who represents the dead man, places himself in front of the first man in the row and says in a low voice: sirasu catuaini huashama, or, generally, only: sirasu catuaini, which means: 'give me the last man from behind', or: 'give me the last one'. The man who said this now tries to catch the Indian standing last in the row, who, for his part, tries to escape him, running either to the right or to the left. His task is to reach the spot in front of the first man before he is caught by the 'Dead Man'. If he succeeds in doing so, the Dead Man must repeat the same with the following Indian from the end, who is now the last one. Again, if the last man (sirasu) is caught before he has succeeded in taking the [476] first place in the row, he must in his turn play the Dead Man, the former Dead Man taking his station as the last one in the row.

The games described above are continued during the whole night and nobody is allowed to fall asleep. Early in the morning, when the game is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All of the men, who were engaged in the game, start to run about in the room on all fours, barking like dogs and attempting to imitate their movements; they kill all hens which belonged to the deceased, wringing their neck at the spot on which they catch them. A meal is subsequently prepared of the hens killed, in which all, both guests and hosts, men and women, take part.

The Indians declare that this meal is a gift of the deceased by which he rewards those of his relatives and friends who have honoured him by the wake and by the food offered to him and have accompanied him on his last journey."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The ceremonial game after a death among the Napo and Canelos Indians is called aya pugllana, which means 'to play the Dead Man'. This is in accordance with the idea appearing in most of these games, that the departed Indian himself actively takes part in them. Thus, for instance, in the first game it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease-and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blindman. Similarly, in the fourth game the Indian, who calls out sirasu catuaini and tries to catch the last man in the row, represents the disease-demon. The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality-- a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians. Thus, for instance, the mask-dances are wholly founded on this idea. The game with the burning cotton is a purification ceremony. The Indians ascribe magic virtues to the cotton itself, and the burning cotton is believed to destroy the disease-contagion (usually personified into a demon) and to protect the survivors against infection. The same idea is equally manifest in the game with the concealed pin. Pointed instruments, like pins and needles, are often used as amulets against evil spirits. The pin is concealed in the very source of the disease, the corpse itself. When the Indians look for it and find it they are, as it were, rendered immune against the disease. The brandy which the Indians have to drink afterwards is

one prophylactic more against the feared spirit. The Indians are quite conscious [477] of the meaning of these ceremonies when they say that they play in the way described 'in order not to die away'.

It seems, at the outset, somewhat more difficult to explain the other custom, above described, when the men, imitating dogs, run about on all fours and kill the hens. The Indians have not described it to me in further detail, but I may point out some ideas which most probably underly it. First, it is clear that the men who act in this way are supposed to represent the dead Indian himself. The departed Indian himself must catch and kill the hens which he wants to give to those honouring him, and the Indians seem to fancy that on that occasion he takes the shape of a dog. On this point it may be appropriate to mention an idea prevailing among the Jibaro Indians, according to which, if a departed parent is not duly honoured with offerings of food, he will take revenge, among other ways, by reappearing in the shape of a dog that bites the hens in the house to death. That the souls of the departed may transmigrate into dogs is a common Indian belief which is shared by the Napo and the Canelos Indians also. Consequently, if, as may sometimes happen, the starving dogs bite the hens to death and eat them, the Indians ascribe this to the soul of a departed relative that has taken the shape of a dog. It seems to me most probable that the strange funeral custom just described must be explained in this way.

Examining more closely the customs described above, we find that all of them are founded on a few definite religious ideas. On the one hand the survivors wish to honour the defunct by the games, inasmuch as they accompany him on his last journey and allow himself to dispose of the most valuable property he left behind, his domestic animals, usually in the expectation, directly expressed, that in return he may reward the survivors by virtue of the supernatural power he possesses. On the other hand, the games have for their object to protect the surviving relatives against the disease- and death-demon, who has carried off one member of the family and is believed to look for more victims among the living. This is an idea which must be explained more closely. In order to understand the funeral customs of primitive peoples it is necessary to distinguish, at any rate theoretically, between two classes of spirits to which the ceremonies have reference; the soul of the defunct, and the evil demon who caused the death of the relative and is regarded as a source of danger to the survivors also. It is a well-known fact that according to the belief of the Indians death-bringing disease depends on an evil spirit who penetrated into the body of the patient. If the demon succeeds [478] in completing his work of destruction in the body, the patient dies. But the disease-demon, having obtained possession of a person and caused his death, will at the same time lay hold of his soul also and change him altogether into an evil demon, whatever may have been his character in life; so that in many cases there is

practically no difference between the death-bringing demon and the spirit of the dead. This idea explains a fact which has often been commented upon by students of primitive religion but has never been satisfactorily explained: why persons, who in their lifetime have, perhaps, been honoured and loved are nevertheless after death feared as evil demons who are trying to inflict all sorts of evils upon the surviving relatives. This is due to the supposed fact that the defunct, that is, his soul, has fallen victim to a strange death-bringing demon who is trying to change the soul itself into a demon. The more spiritual power a person possessed in life, the more he is generally feared after death, because the strange demon lays hold of this power. This is the reason why old people and sorcerers are as a rule most feared after death as evil revengeful beings. It is only when we know this idea that we can satisfactorily explain a number of funeral customs and rites of the Indians which seemingly contradict one another.(1)

Although the Indians believe that the disease-and death-demon is trying to identify itself with the soul of the dead person, they still make a distinction between the two

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"1. On the point, see more fully my Civilization of the South American Indians, pp. 477 sqq."

spirits which clearly appears in many of their funeral rites and ceremonies. Thus, of the mourning customs described above, some particularly have reference to the soul of the dead, others again to the death-bringing demon. For instance, when food is placed in front of the corpse and when the dice game is played, the Indians are only thinking of the deceased relative who was loved in life and to whom after his death the due cult is paid. Again, when pepper or tobacco-water is squirted into the eyes of the surviving relatives, when the game of blindman's-buff is played, when the mourners play with pins concealed, with burning cotton balls, or pieces of wood, these rites most clearly have only reference to the evil disease-and death-demon who still is believed to haunt the house and threaten the lives of the surviviors. [sic] Their object is to protect the latter against this dangerous spirit, or, as we should say, against the contagion of death, with which the soul of the defunct has involuntarily been associated."

"The subject of death and burial customs appears not to have been mentioned by the earliest writers on the Jivaro. Plaza, writing in 1853, says:

> They abandon their house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink; it is closed and remains closed, and no one ever returns to live there, which proves, according to them, the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, a judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ihuanchi. (28)

Villavicencio, writing at about the same period, says:

> It is with difficulty that they are persuaded to bury their dead in the churches, since they prefer to bury them in their tambos, for the reason of thus having some guardians to watch over their belongings. They believe that death is not natural, and when someone dies, they attribute it to sorcery sent by some enemy, which is a cause for division among families, and they profess an eternal hatred against the supposed sorcerer. When they do not know to whom to attribute the ill deed they believe, notwithstanding, that it is caused by some hidden enemy. (29)

"28. Plaza, in Compte, p. 295.
29. Villavicencio, p. 357."

Vacas Galindo states that the dying person usually indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in nijimanche and food. As to the final disposal of the body, Galindo says:

> They seat the dead person on a kutanga, well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from [113] other souls, human or animal, who will come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many piningas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away. (30)"

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"30. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, pp. 78-79."

2: Stirling--113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 764

"The Salesian missionary, Father Pancheri, at Gualaquiza, has left a detailed description of the manner in which a prominent Jivaro had been buried. Hearing that the body of this individual had been disposed of in the pagan manner and wishing to give his bones a Christian burial, he searched for and found the body in a native sepulchre. The shelter consisted of a well-built house 2 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide. As viewed from the outside, it gave the appearance of an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade overgrown with living plants. The interior, like a small room, was furnished with a seat having a back, on which the corpse had been seated, hands and feet crossed after it had been dressed in its best clothing and personal adornments. A second palisade, erected in the form of a cylinder, surrounded the body so closely that it could not fall over. This palisade was even more solidly constructed than the other and was covered inside and out with large leaves, making it so tight that even mice could not enter. The circular opening at the top of this cylindrical palisade was covered by a thick disk of wood weighted down by a large rock. In the little circular corridor between the first and second barriers a large quantity of food was placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc,; many earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and other liquids were set against the walls.

Pancheri says:

We had to break the first palisade with a machete. Here many vases of nijimanche were hung and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found. (31)"

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"31. Bulletin Salésien. August 1896, p. 178. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 611."

2: Stirling--113-114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764

"The following information was received directly from informants on the Yaupe River. Twenty-four hours after a Jivaro dies his body is placed in a log which has been hollowed out, in a small canoe, or in a box made of split bamboo. All of his hunting and fighting weapons, lance, blowgun, poison kit, etc., are placed with him. When the coffin is made from a log the bark is first peeled off and a space hollowed out in the log of a size sufficient to receive the body. The bark is then replaced and secured in place with pegs and vine wrappings, so as to cover the opening (pl. 25, b). If a canoe is utilized the opening of the canoe is covered with bark and large leaves which are bound in place with vines. When a box of split bamboo is used a cover is made of the same material.

The coffin is then suspended from the ridge pole of the house by means of two vines. An ordinary warrior is suspended horizontally. [114] If the deceased should be a curaka he is suspended in an upright position. The body hangs in this manner without further attention except for mourning by the women for a period of 6 days. On the sixth day, if the dead man be a curaka, nijimanche, meat, fish, manioc, and plantains are placed in vessels on the floor and on that day the house is abandoned, the body remaining suspended from the rafters. Each month for 2 years someone returns to replenish the food supply."

2: Stirling--115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764, 797, 172

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

12: Rivet--610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 764

There is no uniformity in the mode of burial. Ordinarily, the savages dislike inhumation (1), and the missionaries have had to fight very hard to bring the baptized Indians to dispose of their dead in the little cemetery which surrounds the church of the Mission; only children are buried with no ceremony. (2) Often it is the dying person who, before he takes his last breath, indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in chicha or food, etc. (3) Sometimes the body is seated against a big tree, sometimes in the trunk of a big cedar (4) and shut up in its own house, which the relatives immediately abandon. A traveller has assured me that sometimes it is simply thrown into the water.

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1. Villavicencio. op. cit., page 357.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 154.
4. Collecion de cartas, etc., page 61.

At present, the custom that tends to prevail is to put the dead person on a little platform under a shelter constructed either in the middle of the forest or in the corner of the field around the house. Padre Pancheri, a missionary to the Gualaquiza, who has had the chance to observe this practice closely, on going out to look for the body of a baptized Jívaro chief in order to bury him religiously, has given an excellent and minute description of it. (1)

The shelter consists of a nice little house, 2 m. long and 1 1/2 m. wide. Seen from the outside, the whole thing looks like an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade covered with living plants; the inside is like a little room , containing a chair with a back, where they seat the corpse, hand and feet crossed, after having dressed it in its best clothes and all its personal ornaments. A second circular palisade surrounds the body so closely that it cannot possibly fall from the chair. This palisade is even more solidly built than the other, and covered inside and out with huge leaves that will even keep the mice out; it rises and ends almost in the [611] form of a tube, the main opening of which is closed by a very thick disk of wood making a cover, on which is placed a big rock. In the little circular corridor which is found between the first and second barriers a great quantity of fruit is placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc; mapy earthenware pots full of chicha and other liquids are attached to the walls. The description

1. Bulletin Salesien, August, 1896, page 178.

of the Salesian priest is very definite. "We had to," he said, "break the first palisade with a big knife. Here many vases of chicha were hanging, and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found."

In the old days, they left the body in its own house, which was immediately abandoned. Vacas Galindo describes this ceremony as follows: (2) "They seat the dead person on a kutanga well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from the other souls, human or animal, who might come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many pinangas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away."

It is probable that the necessity of constructing a new house after each death has brought the Jívaro little by little to renounce this custom.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 155. Bishop Manuel Plaza gives an analogous description in Compte. I. II, op. cit., page 295.

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

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1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narcisso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

25: Vigna--48
116, 152, 764

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

When a child dies, a sentiment approximating madness takes possession of the mother; she pulls her hair and very nearly tears it out by the roots. I have assisted in a case of maternal pain caused by the death of a son, in which desperation was so acute that she would have hanged herself had she not been stopped. With hair covering her face, she cries, shrieks and screams with a grief that is moving.

25: Vigna--48[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 533, 764

The song that the Jíbaros use as an expression of sorrow, is intoned to the only musical motif that they know: the chant of the witch when he cures the sick. While crying, they evoke the figure of the deceased and the ancestors with so much love and such tender appellatives that they draw tears. During the inflection of the voice, in the weeping, they repeat rhythmically the vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

25: Vigna--48[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If the deceased is the master of the house, the grave is dug in the center of the house near the principal log which sustains the roof. Once the deceased is interred, the dwelling is abandoned, and the dead is left in peace. All the objects that belonged to him are left hanging from the log near his grave.

The grave generally is a meter in depth. The cadaver is wrapped in his itipi or tarachi and in the other clothing that belonged to him and placed in the grave. He is tied with strips of cloth, cinctures, or reeds. If it is possible, he is wrapped either in pierced bamboo reeds, or he is put in pieces of old canoe. This is sealed hermetically by plugging the cracks with beeswax.

25: Vigna--48-49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If, before dying, the deceased has given orders that they do not inter him, they prepare a sort of catafalque on which they place the primitive casket. Then, immediately, they abandon the house. If the oral testament of the deceased requires it, he will be interred in a sitting position with his face towards the entrance of the house - as if he were still guarding his habitation. There are cases in which the dying have given orders that they do not be interred nor put [49] in coffins. In this case, the cadaver is fastened to the principal log of the house in a sitting position on a bed that is like his own bed. They light a fire at his feet and watch periodically that it does not die out. The living then leave this newly-formed cemetery. It happens that the cadavers which are preserved in this manner mummify. They resist rough weather until the day that the roof of the house is destroyed and humidity accelerates the process of putrefaction.

28: Tessman--363 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 764

The burial of older and more respected persons (like family fathers) takes place in the house, from which the other inhabitants then move out. All other persons, with the exception of small children, are buried in the bush near the houses. All people receive a burial by interment. The corpse is clad with the loincloth, provided the cloth is not new; if it is new, an old one is substituted. The corpse, in a stretched-out position, is wrapped in Ficus fiber and tied like a bundle. It is, face up, placed upon Iriartea plates in the grave. It seems that this mode of burial is not customary everywhere, perhaps only on Agurauna territory, for my informants told me that other Indians place the corpse upon a plank bed in a special hut in the bush (like the Muratos do). Infant children are likewise wrapped in Ficus fiber, but buried in a big pot, which is buried in a corner of the house.

Karsten tells us (in his The Religion etc., pp. 142 ff.) that food and intoxicating drinks are placed (probably only once) upon the grave of a family father.

After approximately six months, or whenever one assumes that the flesh has disintegrated, the corpse is exhumed; the bones and the skull are cleaned and placed into a pot, which is kept on a bench in the house. The exhumation takes place in the case of infants and adults, of non-sorcerers and sorcerers.

30: Franco--140-141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 764

The making of the tzhantzha is not only for vengeance or for trophy; it appears to have something of a religious nature through the rites that precede its preparation from the severing of the enemy's head to its complete desiccation, and in the other solemn and festive ceremonies which follow in the especially named 'fiesta of the Tzhantzhas.' They are certainly trophies of war, but they are not limited to this. There are tzhantzhas and even entire bodies that are mummified of whites and of blacks. God knows what unfortunate adventurers, explorers, missionaries or rubber workers fell the victim of some imprudence of aggression or sexual assault toward some Indian woman, since the savage is atrociously suspicious and vengeful not only toward his fellow creatures but even more so toward the intruders of his forest. The Museum of the 'Heye Foundation' of New York, as well as tzhantazhas, possesses two rare examples of entire bodies: one of a Negro and another of a white with heavy beard of a Spanish or Austrian or Italian type; and, likewise, the head of an aged white man with thick [141] curly and gray hair. The entire bodies of the two have been reduced and preserved in admirable proportions to their size, being dolls of some 70 to 75 cms. Only the hands are a little large in proportion to the new body and the feet are a little deformed by the flexion of the toes upward.

30: Franco--142 [6] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 764

Mummification was a custom from very remote times in America also, although not so perfect as in Egypt. The Incas appear to have perfected it somewhat. They extracted the viscera and substituted certain preservative herbs, coca among them, and in one of the cavities of the body they introduced a small receptacle full of balsam liquid which precipitated the desiccation; then they put the body in a large well-sewn basket made of cat tail [totora].

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

## *Death*

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

• 764 The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split guadua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (*yaĉi* of the deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her 765 hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased 766 head of the household may be buried either below ground or [768] above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kasa*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

764 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse 766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás tsakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untsi* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two for each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[6]

[353] [301] [595] [439] [764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

796 571 554 765

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
• [764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huará* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.